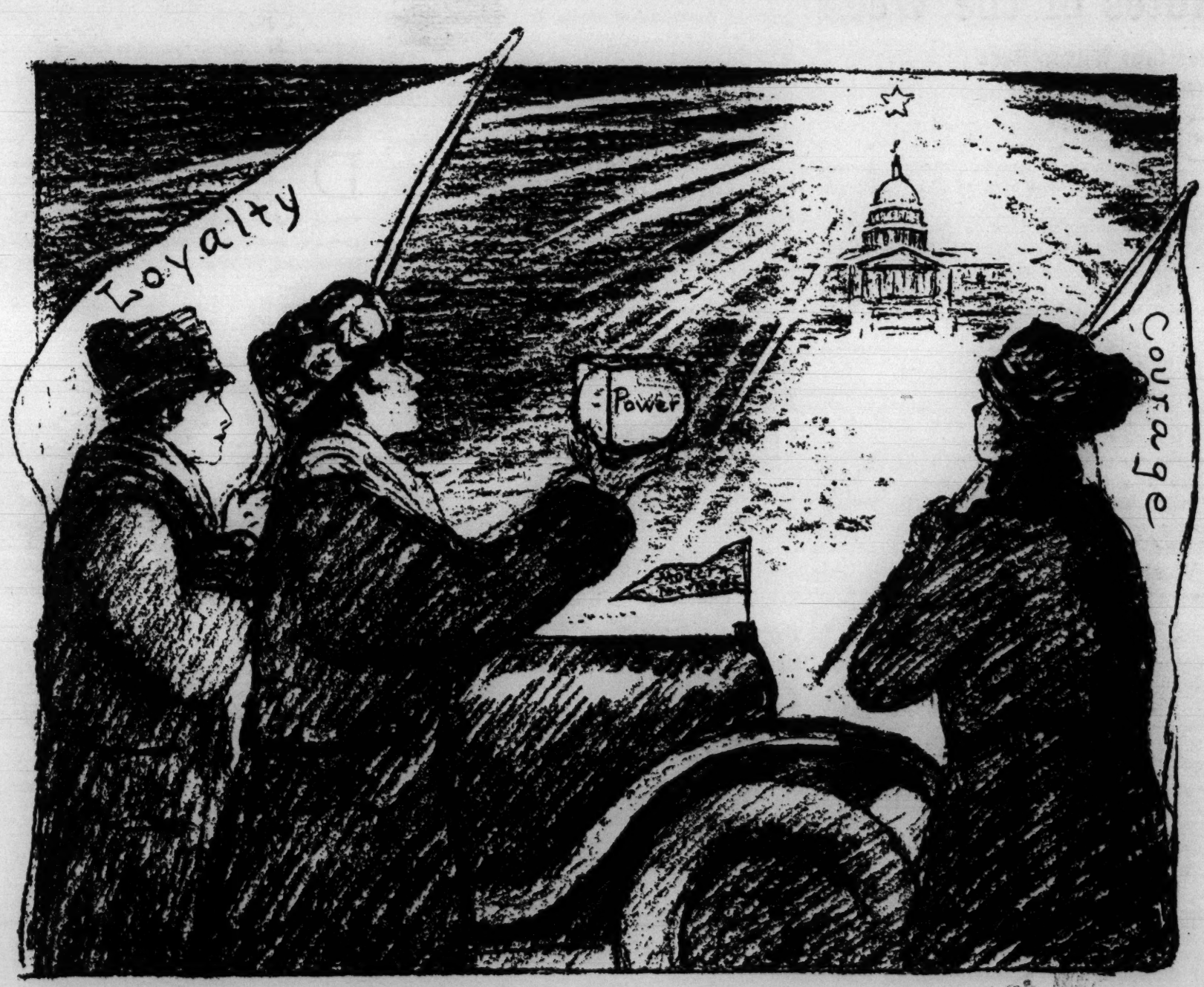
FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

DECEMBER 18, 1915



Drawn by Nina E. Allender.

The Wise Women of the West Come Bearing Gifts

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Vol. III DECEMBER 18, 1915 No. 51

The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

1420 F Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

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Subscription Price:

Domestic.....$1.00
Foreign.....$1.50
Single Copies.....5 *cents*

Checks, drafts and postoffice orders should be made payable to The Treasurer of the Congressional Union

National Capital Press, Inc., Washington, D. C.

Entered as second-class matter, Nov. 14, 1913, at the Postoffice at Washington, D. C., under act of March 3, 1879

Notes of the Week

President Wilson Sees Suffrage Delegation

EIGHT HUNDRED representatives of the National American Woman Suffrage Association saw President Wilson on Monday afternoon, December 13. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president, acted as spokesman. Dr. Shaw thanked the President for his favorable vote on suffrage in New Jersey and urged him to support the federal amendment enfranchising women. In answer the President said that he already had under consideration a request that he change his original position in opposition to a federal amendment.

Anti-Suffragists See President

A DELEGATION of about two hundred women from the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage called upon the President on the same day to thank him for his announced opposition to a federal suffrage amendment. "You are most gracious, ladies," said President Wilson.

Second Suffrage Convention in Washington

THE annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association took place in Washington, D. C., the week beginning December 13. At the close of the week the following officers were elected:

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, New York, president; Mrs. Frank M. Roessing, Pennsylvania, first vice-president; Mrs. Stanley McCormick, Massachusetts, second vice-president; Miss Esther Gracie Ogden, New Jersey, third vice-president; Mrs. James Morrison, Illinois, recording secretary; Miss Hannah Patterson, Pennsylvania, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, Connecticut, treasurer; Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, Missouri, first auditor; Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, Alabama, second auditor.

In the course of the convention representatives of the association spoke before the Republican National Committee, the Democratic National Committee, the Senate Woman Suffrage Committee, and the House Judiciary Committee.

Convention of Southern States Conference

THE Southern States' Suffrage Conference, which met in convention at Richmond, Virginia, the week ending December 12, elected as its president Miss Kate Gordon, of Louisiana. A resolution was adopted by the convention calling upon the Democratic party, as the dominant party in the South, to adopt a plank favoring woman suffrage.

The Next Campaign

ONE of the next states to launch a suffrage campaign will be Iowa. Two legislatures have already passed a submission bill, and now the work of educating the voters is before the suffrage organizations.

Bronze Medallion of Miss Anthony on View

THE historical department of the Smithsonian Institute of Washington has just accepted and placed on view a bronze medallion bas-relief of the late Susan B. Anthony, by Michel Jacobs, a painter and sculptor of note of that city.

The bas-relief, which is in the "modern style," being of the school of Rodin, is a noteworthy example of the present tendency in sculpture, which is to keep the relief as low as possible. The relief on the medallion of Miss Anthony is only one-fourth of an inch high. The portrait reveals a thoughtful idealist, with a suggestion of the unconquerable fire which shone out through the bold personality of the great suffrage leader.

"Conserve the Farmers!"

THERE must be a conservation of our farmers," said David Lubin, United States delegate to the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome. "The farmer must take his place, as a commercial peer, alongside the business man of the city."

Still farmers' wives, the most over-burdened class in the community, are left disfranchised.

Party Line-up in the House

THE *Washington Post* (December 17) says, "The two big political parties of the House grappled in the first partisan tussle of the session in passing the resolution of the Democrats to extend the emergency revenue law. The Democrats won by a majority of sixteen. On a previous motion, the Democrats won by eight votes.

When parties are weak, reformers are strong; because then their help is needed.

Representative Byrnes for "Investigating" Suffragists

ON TUESDAY, December 14, Representative Byrnes, of South Carolina, introduced a resolution to "appoint a committee to investigate and secure the facts concerning the existence in Washington of lobbying in the interests of the Susan B. Anthony woman suffrage amendment." It was referred to the Committee on Rules.

The occasion of this extraordinary proposal was the fact that the Congressional Union raised nearly fifty thousand dollars at a meeting in the Belasco Theater the previous Sunday in order to assist the work of securing the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

The Congressional Union made no comment on the introduction of this resolution further than to say that they welcomed the fullest possible investigation and that since the date of their meeting in the Belasco Theater on Sunday they had been given eight hundred dollars more, two hundred from Mrs. Louis Dickinson, of Ohio, and six hundred from Mrs. William Kent, of California.

Police Raid "Britannia" Offices

ON LAST Thursday the London police raided the headquarters of Mrs. Pankhurst's organization and seized the type used in printing her newspaper *Britannia*, formerly called *The Suffragette*. The Women's Social and Political Union, the organization led by Mrs. Pankhurst, is carrying on a protest against the conduct of the war by the British government.

Women Not to Share in War Ballot

SENATOR OWEN, of Oklahoma, has announced his intention of supporting an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, providing that no war of aggression shall be undertaken by this nation without a vote of the people. The resolution reads:

"No war of aggression shall be waged by the army or navy of the United States except on a declaration of war by Congress ratified and approved by a majority of the voters cast in a majority of the Congressional districts of the United States."

Senator Owen's resolution does not recognize in any way the right of women to vote on the entrance of their country into a war of aggression.

Virginia Suffragists Call Upon Governor

DELEGATES attending the annual convention of the Virginia Equal Suffrage League feel encouraged over assurances from Governor Stuart that he will sign the amendment for equal suffrage if the Legislature passes it, even though he refused to commit himself personally on the issue.

Heading the delegation which called on the governor was Mrs. John H. Lewis, of Lynchburg.

Court Rules Filipino May Have Citizenship

A FILIPINO may be admitted to citizenship in the United States under the provision of Section 30 of the Naturalization Act of June 27, 1906. Justice Gould, of the District Supreme Court, so held when he rendered an opinion on December 13, announcing his intention to admit Monico Lopez, a messenger in the War Department, to American citizenship. The admission of Lopez was resisted by the United States Naturalization Bureau.

The decision is evidently just. Yet it is strange that foreigners find the door of American citizenship wide open while American women are denied the right of self-government.

A Correction

BY A very regrettable error on page 7 of THE SUFFRAGIST of December 11, the name of Gloria Fechner, who gave a very charming presentation of the part of the child in the first scene of the Susan B. Anthony pageant, was printed as "Doris Dickens."

Gloria Fechner is one of the most gifted child actresses in Washington, and worked most loyally for the success of her part in the pageant.

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Mass Meeting to Welcome Women Voters' Envoys

FORTY-FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS was pledged at a great mass meeting held in the Belasco Theater on Sunday, December 12, to forward the work of the Congressional Union for the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment this session.

Mrs. Sara Bard Field and Miss Frances Jolliffe, envoys of the women voters' convention, gave their message from the enfranchised women of the West to the assembled members of the Congressional Union, and Mrs. Field told of the significant and amusing incidents of her automobile trip across country.

The presiding officer of the meeting was Mrs. Margaret Zane Cherdron, of Utah, the only woman who has ever cast the electoral vote of her state for President of the United States. Mrs. Cherdron was secretary of the Woman Voters' Convention at San Francisco, and came to Washington to preside over the meeting of welcome to them on their arrival at the national capital.

As first speaker Mrs. Cherdron presented Senator Sutherland, of Utah. "It gave me peculiar pleasure the other day," Senator Sutherland said, "to introduce in the Senate the Susan B. Anthony amendment. I should not be surprised to see it adopted in the Senate by the necessary two-thirds vote. . . . It has been said that the men of the West would, if they had the power, get rid of woman suffrage, but inasmuch as half of the voters are women, our hands are tied. Of course nothing could be further from the truth. In the western states—in my own state—a proposition to deprive the women of the right to vote would be resented quite as strongly as the proposition to deprive men of the same right. Utah adopted woman suffrage while it was a territory, in 1870, one year after Wyoming had acted; and for seventeen years women voted side by side with men. In 1887 the Congress of the United States, which possesses plenary power in the territories, annulled the law and provided that no woman should be permitted to vote in that territory. This condition prevailed for nine years; but in 1896 the territory came into the union as a sovereign state with a constitution into which the men of the state had written the provision restoring to the women the right of suffrage. If there had been any foundation in the claims of the opponents of woman suffrage, surely seventeen years' experience would have developed it, and when the men were given a full opportunity to again act upon the matter as an original proposition, woman suffrage would certainly not have been restored."

Representative Mondell, who has five times introduced the Susan B. Anthony amendment in the House of Representatives, paid a glowing tribute to the results of the concentrated efforts of suffragists for the federal amendment. Mr. Mondell spoke of the difficulty of obtaining a sponsor for a suffrage amendment in by-gone years, and said: "In this Congress five different men have introduced the suffrage amendment in Congress; that is in itself a tribute to the advance suffrage has made." Mr. Mondell spoke of the change of sentiment in the White House and alluded to the President's attitude at the reception to the women voters of the West on December 6. "Even the chief of the Democratic party no longer speaks of suffrage as a local issue," said Mr. Mondell. "It is being recognized more and more as a national question, and I believe will receive stronger support in the Sixty-fourth Congress than at any preceding period in the history of the suffrage movement."

Miss Maud Younger, of California, who is prominently identified with the national labor party, spoke most eloquently of the cooperation of the Western women in the struggle for the franchise. Miss Younger said: "It is four years since the

(*Continued on page 7*)

The First Duty of the Sixty-Fourth Congress

By Winifred Mallon

THIS year it will be national defense.

History is repeating itself. Now, as in the past, whenever the demand of women for their just share in their government has become embarrassingly insistent, they will be asked to stand aside for measures "more important" than their own.

As if the tariff affected men exclusively and women not at all, the consideration of the Underwood Tariff bill was brought forward as adequate excuse for deferring consideration of the woman suffrage amendment at the special session of Congress called in 1913. But the excuse was not accepted. Much water has flowed under many bridges since the day when Susan B. Anthony was urged to lay aside the great object of her life, the enfranchisement of women, and devote herself to the abolition movement. She refused then, as women generally have learned to refuse today, to set aside a fundamental principle for the consideration of any other question whatsoever.

In this refusal lies no lack of appreciation of the seriousness of the "more important" issues. On the contrary, so keenly alive are the women of the country to their importance that they protest at being placed in the position of the innocent bystander by those who seek to settle these vital questions for them.

The measure of their realization of the importance to themselves and to their country of the issues which will be brought up for discussion by the Sixty-fourth Congress, is the exact measure of their determination that Congress shall do its part in bringing about a change in the present absurd relation of American women to their government.

Under existing conditions, the women of eleven states of the Union are represented equally with men in the capital of their country. The women of the remaining thirty-seven states are helpless to affect the decisions made by Senators and Representatives on matters of vital interest to them, except through the "indirect influence" so highly esteemed by the opponents of woman suffrage.

The women voters of the country can afford to smile reminiscently when the virtues of indirect influence are referred to. They can remember, however, the not distant day when their recommendations, their petitions, their offers of expert service and assistance, were laid aside, ignored, not infrequently scorned.

This winter an effort will be made to determine the measure of protection, if any, that is to be accorded not only men, but women, from possible foreign foes. The difference of opinion on this subject is not confined to men. Women are by no means a unit in favor of a peace-at-any-price policy, nor even as to the surest method of preserving peaceful relations with the world.

Naturally agreeing, as all sane people must, that peace under normal circumstances is an admirable and beautiful condition, they are not, nevertheless, greatly impressed with the merits of the peace that once reigned in Warsaw or which now prevails in Belgium. But whether they agree with Isaiah and William Jennings Bryan, or with Ezekiel and Theodore Roosevelt on the duty of a nation to prepare to defend itself from attack; whether they think that a defense board of eminent inventors will prove as valuable as President Wilson and Secretary Daniels believe, or with former President Taft that it will be "as useful as a board of opera singers;" whether they consider, as some Democrats do, that the President's defense program goes too far, or, as many Republicans do, that it does not go far enough, only those women whose homes are in Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wyoming, can have any voice in the final decision.

Women have probably heard for the last time the argument that those who do not fight for their country should not vote in it. For if the war in Europe has accomplished nothing else, it has forever extinguished the once popular delusion that women are not called upon as men are to defend and if need be to die for their country, and that, therefore, they have no logical part in government.

When the French government, through its minister, called on the women of France to harvest the crops left in the fields by the men who were called to the colors, and so protect the state from famine, there passed painlessly away the last vestige of the old romantic theory of the helplessness, the uselessness of women in war. And the women who have died in Belgium, France, Germany, Austria and England; died as the little Belgian peasant girl who remained alone of all her people in the village to signal to the garrison in Liege until she was discovered, court-martialed, and shot; died as Edith Cavell died; have silenced forever those who have contended that the penalties of war are inflicted only upon men bearing arms.

The question of national defense is one of absorbing interest to women, yet in its determination the women of only eleven out of a total of forty-eight states will be directly represented.

This monumental injustice is resented by every woman possessed of a shred of self-respect, and a proper love of country. It is an injustice with which no future Congress should need to be asked to deal.

It will not be possible for the Sixty-fourth Congress to do more than set in motion the movement speedily to enfranchise American women, as, in the face of a danger which is nearer to them than to us, Denmark enfranchised its women a few months ago, and as the government of Holland is now facilitating the passage of a national suffrage measure.

But the Sixty-fourth Congress can, and the women of the country are determined that it shall, pass the Sutherland-Mondell resolution, originally drafted by Susan B. Anthony in 1875, referring the national woman suffrage amendment to the states for ratification by three-fourths of the state legislatures.

It is, practically as well as ethically, the first duty Congress should perform; for then, as Secretary Garrison so reasonably said a few weeks ago, "A great subject which is now diverting the attention of the people from vital public questions will have been removed from the arena of discussion."

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The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE.—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

Into Congress, January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the U. S. Senate.

Reported from Committee,

In the Senate,

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.

In the House,

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate,

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for, and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House,

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204 failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Investigation

IT is very amusing to find anti-suffragists in Congress alarmed over the lobbying activities of women asking for enfranchisement.

We still remember the time when women "did not want to vote." Now the halls of Congress, in the elegant language of Mr. Byrnes, of South Carolina, are "like a millinery shop," and it is necessary, in his opinion, to start a Congressional investigation into the use of the large supply of funds put in women's hands to advance the federal suffrage amendment in Congress.

Nothing could answer our purposes better. The more the suffrage movement is investigated, the more the deep sources of its strength are revealed. If Congress had had the intelligence to investigate us sooner, we should have been voting now.

The Demand for Suffrage

MISS PAUL, speaking at a meeting of the Advisory Council in New York last March, shortly after Congress had adjourned, said that on their return they must be met with a veritable "suffrage cyclone."

Congress has returned; and certainly they have found themselves in the thick of an amazing activity on behalf of the suffrage movement. Deputations of suffragists representing the different organizations have seen the President and both Senate and House committees. The Republican National Committee and the Democratic National Committee have heard suffrage speakers. Congress is asked to "investigate" suffrage activities. The House is asked to hear representatives of women voters who have determined to put suffrage as an issue before all other national political considerations. Two great suffrage conventions have been held in Washington, and an aggregate of a hundred thousand dollars raised to finance national activities; a suffrage pageant, the most beautiful ever held in the city, has commemorated as the greatest of American women the suffrage leader and statesman, Susan B. Anthony. The newspapers, the shop windows, the galleries and corridors of Congress, are full of suffrage.

In the course of the Sixty-third Congress it was established beyond all question of doubt that suffrage is a national political issue, and will remain so until Congress agrees to refer the national suffrage amendment to the state legislatures for disposition. The first two weeks of the Sixty-fourth Congress have proved that suffrage, judged from the popular demand behind it, is the foremost issue of the day. It cannot possibly be killed; it cannot be evaded. At last it must be faced squarely and secure respectful attention from national legislators.

If Congress is to take action on suffrage at all, the only action it can fairly take is to give the states an opportunity to settle the whole matter, as they are empowered to do under the Constitution. Keeping the suffrage question tied up in Congress is analagous to keeping a bill tied up in committee. It is undemocratic and unfair, and cannot be defended by the most violent opponent of the proposed measure. At the beginning of the present Congress women can unite in a bold demand that all Congressmen, whether suffragists or anti-suffragists, agree to allow the state legislatures to pass upon the political status of women in the nation.

Suffrage and Internationalism

"THERE is an old-new feeling, now at the back of a good many heads," said Miss Zona Gale, speaking at the dinner in the Cameron House. "I mean the dream of internationalism. That is a dream which women will know how to dream—which as conservers of life we are particularly fitted to dream; and it is a dream which, like all the great economic dreams of our time, women are now forced to stand outside.

"Of all the women in the world today, American women can best feel the international spirit. Of all American women, we who hope for our own citizenship best know how to dream of being citizens of the whole world. The emergency of women to share in one common world is really only one of the steps toward that world-sense which *is* internationalism. No fine internationalism will be possible until women share politically in its expression—in its creation. . .

"We have this great new reason for demanding our chance to serve our world. It is bad enough when we are shut outside our national spirit. How long will it be tolerable when we feel the international spirit growing in the world, growing in ourselves—and yet, politically and economically, we must stand as onlookers? It is bad enough to be treated as exiles from one national democracy, to be classed in with those who have forfeited their right to share in political expression. But to be treated as outlaws from the new internationalism will not be bearable—if we love the world enough."

The Suffrage Advance

"WOMAN suffragists cannot complain that they failed to get 'a hearing' in Washington this week," says the *Washington Times* of December 10.

"Only a few years ago a hearing was all they dared ask. They felt grateful that individual Congressmen received them. To gain a few minutes before a committee of the Senate or House was counted a rare victory.

"Times have changed."

The Susan B. Anthony Pageant

The Third Pageant Frieze: "Breaking the Chains"

THE greatest audience that ever assembled under a roof for any suffrage demonstration or mass meeting gathered in Convention Hall, Washington, D. C., last Monday evening to witness the pageant by Hazel MacKaye on the life of Susan B. Anthony. To one looking over the audience from the rear of the great hall, a dark sea of heads was turned toward the stage. "It is wonderful," said a practical suffragist, "to see so many people thinking about woman suffrage!"

The pageant was nobly beautiful and admirably staged. The figures of the participants, in their quaint old costumes, formed exquisite pictures against the conventionalized flat background of the different scenes.

Ten historical pictures were given, each being one of the important episodes in the life of the great suffrage leader, and more than a half century of time was covered—from 1845 to 1900. Each picture was much more than an incident in the individual story of Susan B. Anthony. It represented an era in the woman's movement, in the slow process of emancipation from the restrictions and prejudices which in the young womanhood of Susan B. Anthony bound women down to a condition of absolute slavery, to the larger freedom of today, when her full emancipation is dawning on the world.

Some of the scenes were historical in the literal sense—true down to the last word spoken; others were typical of past conditions. But in every case the costumes and bearing of the actors, and the sentiments of the various periods represented, were transcribed with the most careful accuracy. The whole pageant showed the progress of women from the time when their work for liberation aroused a storm of opprobrium, to the eightieth birthday of Susan B. Anthony, when she received the homage of women who had won a college education, women who had entered the professions, and women of the four states which had already granted full liberty to all their citizens.

Henrietta Forrest as one of Miss Anthony's School-children

The turning point in the drama of the pageant was the scene showing a torchlight procession celebrating the passage of the fifteenth amendment, which enfranchised the negro, while still excluding women; and the silent vow of the women to unite to win the passage of a "sixteenth" amendment enfranchising the women of the whole nation.

The leading actors, while submerging themselves in the general picture, interpreted with great stateliness the splendid characters of the past—Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Wendell Phillips, Lloyd Garrison, President Garfield, and many others. Mrs. Flora Kay Hanson, in the title role, made a sweet and noble Susan B. Anthony.

Five friezes pictured in symbol the changing mood of women working for enfranchisement. The first expressed the despair of women making the appeal that men would not heed. The second showed their resolve to unite; the third, the first breaking of their bondage; the fourth expressed the dawn of hope; and the fifth, the onward and joyous march to the coming victory. These friezes, appearing high above the stage, seemed to be born out of the darkness and to shine for an instant in an arc of golden light before fading away into darkness again.

Receptions to Envoys and Delegates

AN "at home" to the envoys and delegates to the convention was a pleasant closing feature of the week.

The reception, which was given in the spacious rooms of the old Cameron House, was arranged for by Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley. Standing before the glowing fire, in the large parlor, assisting Mrs. Wiley, were Dr. H. W. Wiley, Mrs. Robert M. LaFollette, Mrs. George Rublee, Miss Janet Richards and Miss Lucia Nola. Assisting in the adjoining room, in the serving of the refreshments, were Mrs. T. L. Ames, Miss J. C. Kelton, Miss Anne Lewis Pierce, Miss Lelia M. Peachy and Miss S. K. Cushing.

When the several hundred guests were seated Miss Lucia Nola, accompanied by Miss Mildred Rider, sang a number of songs most charmingly.

Mrs. Helena Hill Weed then introduced the first speakers of the evening, Mrs. John Winters Brannon and Miss Anne Martin, the two new members of the Executive Committee, who spoke in happy vein of the work of the Union in the past and of the hope for the future. Miss Janet Richards was next introduced. Miss Richards prefaced her remarks by reading a letter from Senator John D. Works, of California, in which he stated that in his opinion the federal amendment was in no sense an invasion of states' rights. Miss Richards then, in her usual clear and illuminating manner, showed the advantages of the Susan B. Anthony amendment over the unhappy Shafroth substitute and answered the several objections commonly made against the federal method of securing universal suffrage.

A happy incident then occurred when Miss Richards made the presentation of the two silver wrist watches, given by the Congressional Union, to Miss Ingeborg Kinstedt and Miss Maria Kindberg, the plucky chauffeur and mechanician of the famous "On to Congress" auto. Following this Mrs. John Jay White was introduced, bearing aloft a huge yellow stocking stuffed in a most Christmasy fashion. Mrs. White explained that suffragists are always accused of having no homes, husbands or children, but of being an itinerant, roaming, dissatisfied kind of human beings, and so to dispute this ancient accusation she was presenting a Santa Claus reminder to Mrs. Sara Bard Field, who had left a very happy home and two devoted children to make her extraordinary trip of 5,000 miles to assist the suffrage cause. The stocking contained an assortment of gifts and humorous reminders. A further presentation was then made by Mrs. Weed to Miss Jolliffe of a great bunch of yellow roses—a "bit of California," Miss Jolliffe called it; and to Mrs. Field of a silver loving cup, the gift of the Congressional Union. Mrs. Field, in accepting, said she felt that the gift was not made to her personally, but to the spirit she embodied, the spirit animating the suffrage cause, the spirit of cooperation, love and helpfulness which seemed to dominate every gathering of women who worked for the Congressional Union. In the course of her remarks Mrs. Field read a letter from her fourteen-year-old son, a delightful, boyish document, describing his feelings at the closing of the exposition, when the lights went out from the famous Tower of Jewels. He said he felt "all busted up inside," and that, said Mrs. Field, was the way she felt when she realized that her wonderful errand was accomplished.

Hearing Before the National Republican Committee

"YOUR chairman has said that the Congressional Union has the last word," said Miss Frances Jolliffe, in addressing the National Republican Committee last week. "Yes, gentlemen, it has; because it has the votes."

The hearing was held in the Red Room of the New Willard Hotel, on Tuesday afternoon, December 14. Miss Maud Younger, of California, representing the Congressional Union, introduced as speakers the envoys from the Woman Voters' Convention, Miss Frances Jolliffe and Mrs. Sara Bard Field.

"You are met here," Miss Younger said, "to consider the winning of the next Congressional election. In that campaign the four million women voters of this country will be a powerful factor. As representatives of the convention of women voters which met last September in California, we appear before you because we know that you shape the policy of your party; that you have great power and influence. We do not ask you for action today, but we do ask you to use that great power and influence which is yours, upon the members of your party in this Congress, to urge them to work for the passage of the federal suffrage amendment.

"We women of the west have come to realize our duty toward our unenfranchised sisters and we have come to realize the greater power which we as voters possess. The women voters have pledged themselves to place this issue of the enfranchisement of the women of the country before party."

Miss Younger then introduced Miss Jolliffe. "We have just come back from the House of Representatives," Miss Jolliffe said, "where they refused to hear the two envoys from the women voters of the west. The House is very busy preparing bills and speeches for national defense and preparedness, while the half of the population that is to be touched most closely by this legislation must keep silent—the working women who will have to economize more pitiably—we women who will have to give our sons and our brothers to our country. We are denied the glory of free sacrifice. It is now as it has always been, conscription for women.

"Miss Younger has told you about that first convention of women voters. We met in San Francisco last September. Delegates came from all the twelve free states, representing organizations of all kinds of women and every shade of political opinion. There, after due deliberation, it was resolved to endorse the Susan B. Anthony amendment, and it was unanimously resolved that the enfranchisement of women should be made the paramount issue before all other issues by the women voters there represented. Now, what does that mean, gentlemen? It does not mean that we have four million women corralled in a room to deliver their votes as desired. It does mean that we have bodies of women working in the enfranchised states, to organize the votes of women for women. It means that last Sunday at the Belasco Theatre we were able to raise $45,000 in fifteen minutes. It means that the women have pledged themselves to call no party friend or foe until the Susan B. Anthony amendment is passed. It means, gentlemen, that I, who am a regular Democrat (as far as I can be regular in anything), am addressing the Republican National Committee. It means that there is a reserve of votes and a fund of gratitude for the party that is quick enough to see its chance—that will swing the balance of power. Your delegate, Mr. Kahn, has told you how sadly you were wrecked out there in the west—you Republicans. Here is your chance. Four million votes!

"Above all partisanship, above opportunism, we hear a cry for justice. Up from the factory and the sweatshops we hear 'Give us our freedom, that we may at least meet the struggle for existence on equal terms!'

"Gentlemen," concluded Miss Jolliffe, "it is that cry that we women have heard; and we have placed it above party. Gentlemen of the Republican Committee, it was the call of liberty and justice that gave birth to the Republican Party. Hear the call again of liberty and justice and that party will be reborn."

Mrs. Field, the next speaker, said: "I am afraid I cannot echo the words of Mrs. George, who told you she was sorry to have to take any of your time. I am very happy to take all of your time that I can get from you in any way to give this message to you. And I think you ought to be glad to hear the message. If there were any such thing as compensation for injustice—and there isn't—it would be something of a compensation to speak here today after the evidences we have had of the unjust condition that exists with regard to women in the House of Representatives. Two envoys came representing four million women in the west, who can vote, and they were refused without discussion a place on the floor of that great legislative body that makes laws that govern us women of the west as well as the rest of the country.

"I believe the House was afraid to hear this new message of loyalty on the part of women toward women. We had a right to be heard on the floor of that House, because we came with a great and powerful message from this gathering of women voters, representing every one of the enfranchised states.

"We not only represent that convention, but we can testify to the great demonstrations which we have seen as we have come across the country on what I think will some day be an historic trip. In every place there were the most remarkable demonstrations for suffrage that any of those states have recorded. Now, why? Because three little women were making a trip in an automobile? Not at all. Because, sirs, there is a new power in the suffrage movement today; because voting women are getting into the fight. It is because we realize that this new power that has entered into the movement is such a great power, that we know how to understand such demonstrations.

"This is the opportunity, as Miss Jolliffe has said, to help your cause in the western states. We have a balm for you—the balm of these four million votes which are rapidly being organized into what is becoming, as a prominent attorney in San Francisco has said, 'a movement of almost fanatical solidarity.' Now, sirs, you cannot put through for us this amendment. You are not the party in power. We do ask, we demand, that you back up the majority party in pushing the Susan B. Anthony amendment. And that there may be a speedy ratification of the amendment, which we believe is going through in this Sixty-fourth Congress, we ask that you put a plank in your next platform endorsing suffrage, because of the effect that such a plank will have on the states.

"Dear Dr. Shaw, whom we all honor and love so much, spoke of the fact that suffrage has always been handed down from a ruling class to another class. This is the first time in the history of the world, when one class has appealed to members of the same class. The women have gone to the women of the country. Miss Paul had the wonderful vision of sending out to the west to see what the enfranchised women would do. My friends, they came unto their own and their own received them. If you know anything about women (and I know every man thinks he knows all there is to know about them), you know when a religious idea takes hold of a woman you cannot stop her. And this is becoming a religious movement.

"Because, sirs, your party was founded upon the great principle of a man who said that a government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed—who said that he believed that those who bore the burdens of government should have a voice in it—by no means forgetting women—because Abraham Lincoln has spoken to you a greater word than I can speak, because of this, gentlemen, I ask you that you do put a plank in your platform and that you do see that this amendment is backed by your party in Congress.

"May I tell you a story? It's a very good story. There was a darky working in the field one intensely hot summer day. Finally, when he felt he could stand the heat no longer, he lifted his hand to the sun and said, 'Where was you last December when we needed you?' My point is obvious. When you come to us for our support in your next campaign, we are going to say to you, 'Where was you last Congress when we needed you?'"

Chairman Hilles, at the conclusion of Mrs. Field's remarks, said to the members of the Republican National Committee, "Gentlemen, I think you will agree with me that the House of Representatives does not know a good thing when it sees it."

Representatives at the National Woman Suffrage Association also addressed the committee, advancing strong arguments on behalf of woman suffrage.

Mr. Page of North Carolina "Objects"

THE privilege of addressing the members of the House of Representatives on the floor of the House was not extended to the envoys of the Woman Voters' Convention, when a motion to hear them was made last Tuesday by Representative John J. Nolan, of California.

Distinguished men have been permitted to address the House on numerous occasions, but this privilege has never been granted to women. It was believed that Mrs. Sara Bard Field, of Oregon, and Miss Frances Jolliffe, of San Francisco, the representatives of the women voters, came to Washington with a message of such significance that it would be possible to procure them a hearing before the representatives of the people in Congress.

In 1824 Lafayette was received in the House and briefly responded to the Speaker's expression of the gratitude of the people of the country for his distinguished services in the Revolution. Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian exile, addressed the House in 1851, and in 1872. Iwakura, a member of the embassy of Japan, appeared in the House chamber and made a speech in his own tongue. The king of the Hawaian Islands has been received, and in 1880 a resolution was passed by the House granting the use of the House chamber to "Charles Stewart Parnell, a representative of the Irish people, for an address on Irish affairs, because of the great interest which the people of this country take in the condition of Ireland."

When Mr. Nolan made a motion last Tuesday asking unanimous consent that the House take a recess of twenty minutes to hear the delegates from the woman voters' convention, Mr. Fitzgerald, of New York, immediately asked if this was not in violation of the rule which prevents the chair from entertaining a motion permitting anyone not entitled to the floor from coming on the floor. Mr. Mann, Republican floor leader, explained that this rule applied only when the House was in session, and that the request had been made for a recess when the Speaker would admit anyone desired to the floor. Mr. Page, of North Carolina, then asked if it was the purpose to have these addresses made on the floor of the House and, when assured by Mr. Nolan that such was the purpose, promptly responded, "I object."

Since unanimous consent was necessary, Mr. Page's objection was sufficient to prevent the hearing of the envoys.

The galleries were crowded with interested men and women, eager to hear the message of the women voters delivered before the national legislators.

The Banquet in Cameron House

"THIS seems like a jollification meeting," said Mr. Frederick C. Howe, at the dinner arranged for the Congressional Union by Mrs. Richard Wainwright in the Cameron House last Saturday.

Indeed, a radiant good will filled the evening. The speeches were tonic, full of courage and humor; and the audience was wide awake and warmly sympathetic.

"Several months ago," said Mr. Frank P. Walsh, "a man who had established a reputation—if not for moral courage, at least for carelessness of consequences—was considered brave to make a speech for the Congressional Union. Tonight any man who has the opportunity might consider himself fortunate in being on the band wagon of an uproariously successful cause."

Miss Zona Gale was the inimitable toastmistress of the evening; her delicate and racy humor and far vision created the spirit of the evening. She introduced as speakers Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict, Miss Alice Carpenter, Miss Janet Richards, Admiral Richard Wainwright, Mr. Percy MacKaye, Mr. Walsh and Mr. Howe.

The fine old rooms of the Cameron House were beautifully decorated with chrysanthemums; in each room open fires glowed cheerfully.

Mrs. Benedict, who was the first speaker, described the suffrage movement as having three wings, the anti-suffragists, the state suffragists, and the Congressional Union. She created some amusement when she said that the active "honest-to-God antis" who were willing to get up and shout for their principles, are more like the Congressional Union than they think, as they, too, are an expression of this new force in the world, the awakening of women; the eagerness of women to speak for themselves, to count in the deciding of public questions, to express themselves, to be somebody, to be human beings as well as wives, individuals as well as mothers.

"The second wing," continued Mrs. Benedict, "are the exclusive state suffragists, those who want the vote, but don't want the vote as much as they want the education that comes from these referendum campaigns. Or they care about the rights of women, but they care more about the sacred rights of the states to determine the less sacred rights of women.

"Now, we belong to the third wing—we want to vote right off—we don't want any more education and more consideration of the rights of the sacred states. We consider for the present only our own rights and the surest and quickest way to win those rights—the federal amendment with the organized determination of four million women to put it through."

"The note of persistency," said Mr. Walsh, "that Mrs. Benedict put into her speech, recalls a little story that I heard not long ago, and maybe it might illustrate the spirit of our particular brand of suffragist. In a darky gambling house down south, there was one of those lucky niggers who wanted to play, but he did not have any money, so a little darky there who was a sort of Shylock to the rest of the darkies when they were broke, loaned the lucky darky $5; and in a little time he had won $80. He became high and mighty; declared that he was going to a 'real gambling place' and was starting off when the little darky intercepted him and asked for his $5. The lucky fellow said: 'Oh, yes. We did have a little transaction the first part of the evening. I won't forget you. When can I see you?' 'Well, nigger,' the other replied, 'if you keep owing me that $5, and my feet hold out, you are going to see me continuously.'

"I never dared, since this cause permitted men to speak for it, to attempt to give it advice. I would not only be afraid to do so, but would be ashamed to do so in the presence of any body of suffragists that I have ever met. But in comparing experiences, as it were, might I make this prediction—that at the end almost of your campaign you will have a contest in the Congress of the United States over which party shall have the honor of submitting the Susan B. Anthony amendment. You have the argument of the record votes of more American freemen on a great national question than has ever been recorded before action was taken on an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, I believe. I have yet to hear the first argument against the basic and fundamental right and justice of granting suffrage to all of the people of the United States. And my prediction is that if your amendment is not passed at this Congress, though I hope and believe that you have a splendid chance of accomplishing this, there will be more politicians proving alibis four years from now than were ever found in the United States before."

Miss Janet Richards, in introducing Miss Kindberg and Miss Kinstedt to the guests, who gave them a magnificent ovation, said: "As I was present at the start and helped speed the departing guests, Mrs. Field and Miss Jolliffe, on their wonderful automobile trip across the continent, I deemed myself fortunate to be present last Monday at the finish when the plucky voyagers reached the historic east front of the national capital and presented the great petition of women voters to the two representatives of Congress at the door of the rotunda.

"I say I was present at the finish. Yet we know that the end is not yet. We also know there will be no end to this agitation until it is settled and settled right."

Mass Weeting to Welcome Women Voters' Envoys

(*Continued from page 3*)

women of California were enfranchised; four years since we laid down our arms, our victory won. We thought that all our struggles for the ballot were over, that we would never again wear 'Votes for Women' buttons; that we would never again speak upon the subject of suffrage. But scare six months were past when there came a call from the women of Ohio. They needed money; they needed speakers. So we again buckled on our armor and sallied forth into the campaign in Ohio. Then it was Michigan, then Nevada, Pennsylvania, and New York. Seventeen state elections have been held since 1911, and as these pleas have come year after year from state after state we have gradually come to realize that our struggle does not end with our own victory. The struggle of our sisters of other states is our struggle. Their cause is our cause. We cannot rest content in our own enfranchisement until the women of the entire nation shall be likewise enfranchised."

Miss Younger was followed by Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, of New York. Mrs. Belmont received an ovation from the audience as one who has given lavishly of time, energy and money to the work for the federal amendment. Mrs. Belmont opened her speech with the quotation from Kipling:

"East is East
And West is West,
And never the twain shall meet."

"You will observe," said Mrs. Belmont, "that the poet from whom I quote is a man. . . . With men the established order is a sacred thing. This I am glad to say is not the modern woman's idea," Mrs. Belmont continued. "Injustice is unjustice, no matter how ancient its origin. And so in our case we venture to make an experiment on our own account reversing the poet's ultimatum, with the result that, though

"'East is East
And West is West,'
At last the twain have met."

After Mrs. Belmont's speech Miss Vernon made a stirring appeal for funds for the continuation of the work in Congress. So eager was the response to the appeal that the time for raising the pledges had to be curtailed; $25,100 was immediately pledged by the different state branches of the Congressional Union; Pennsylvania pledged $5,000; the District of Columbia, $5,000; Minnesota, New Jersey and Rhode Island, $2,000 each; New York and Ohio each $3,000; Maryland, Idaho, California, and Connecticut each $1,000; Michigan and Virginia, $500; Delaware, South Carolina, Utah and Alabama, $100 apiece. Over $17,000 was pledged by individual members and sympathizers of the Union. Over $3,000 was pledged to members of the National Executive Committee after the meeting.

Immediately after the collection came the main speakers of the evening, the two envoys of the women voters of the West, Mrs. Sara Bard Field and Miss Frances Jolliffe.

Miss Jolliffe said in a brief and pointed speech: "The convention of women voters met in San Francisco last September. Delegates came from all the twelve free states; delegates who represented the workingwomen's organizations, professional women, club women, women of leisure, women of all shades of political opinion and partisanship. The convention unanimously resolved to make the federal enfranchisement of women the paramount issue before all other national issues. Do you get the significance of this? It means that the women voters, closely organized throughout the twelve enfranchised states are putting woman suffrage above party. It means that I, a voter in sincerest sympathy with the Democratic principles, must unite on this platform with Republicans, Progressives, Socialists, and Radicals to fight for one and one thing only. It means for the first time in history the political solidarity of women."

The last speaker, Mrs. Sara Bard Field, of Oregon, who, with Miss Jolliffe, was elected on the floor of the convention at San Francisco as the official envoy of the women voters of the west to Congress, said: "I shall never forget the mission entrusted to me by the speaker, Miss Margaret Anglin, the last night of the convention, 'Remember, you are a voice crying to Congress and to the President, make straight the paths of justice to women.' Ten thousand people arose after Miss Anglin's words and with lighted lanterns showed us to the gates of the Exposition where the little car waited which has brought us across the continent. If I had not believed that this movement of loyalty on the part of women was well on when I left San Francisco I would have no shadow of doubt left now in my mind. In Salt Lake City a great throng of women met us and took us to the Capitol steps, where, in the presence of the Governor of Utah and many officials of that city, women signified their intention of being loyal to the need of women before all else. In Denver we saw Mrs. Bertha Fowler, a woman loved throughout her whole state, stand on the steps of the Capitol before thousands of people and say: 'I have been a party woman. I have voted according to my convinctions with the party of my choice, but I want to say here today in the presence of my Governor and the Mayor of this city and the officials and fellow citizens about me, that henceforth I know no party until all women are politically free."

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Mrs. Lora C. Little	1.00
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Mrs. Evan Evans	10.00
Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles	10.00
Mrs. E. Tiffany Dyer	25.00
Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins	5.00
Miss May Church	5.00
Mrs. E. Risgee	5.00
Collections	30.00
Membership fees	11.50
Sale of tickets	360.70
Total	$910.45
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	94,156.06
Total collected through December 13.	$95,066.51

Ohio Women See President Wilson

A SUFFRAGE deputation to President Wilson in Columbus, Friday, December 10, was an impressive object lesson to the Democratic party in Ohio. "There are no fewer than 2,000 of them, but we have to stand it. They control ninety-one electoral votes," a newspaper man heard one of the leading men in the Ohio Democratic party say. To account for the presence of the suffragists, the strength of the Congressional Union was explained again and again to objecting party leaders from all over the state. The power of the voting women of the west was brought home to them. The deputation produced more impression upon politicians than all previous local suffrage demonstrations.

The public reception was held from two to four o'clock in the rotunda of the Capitol Building. The suffragists assembled at Congressional Union headquarters across the street from Capitol Square. The parade formed in a snake-like coil and unwound itself in the serpentine march to the Senate chambers, placed at the disposal of the suffragists by Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. John Arnold. Mrs. Charles Adler, from the Speaker's desk, explained the amendment to the waiting women. A military escort was provided by Adjutant General Hough.

The deputation moved fourth in line: first, officials; second, Democratic clubs; third, G. A. R.'s; fourth, suffragists. Mrs. Frank Willis, wife of Governor Willis, of Ohio, presented a bouquet of yellow Ophelia roses to the President. About a thousand women followed her past the receiving line, wearing suffrage badges. Each woman said to the President, Senator Pomerene, and Congressman Brumbaugh: "Remember the Susan B. Anthony amendment." "Susan" was heard by the President, "B." by Pomerene, and "Anthony" by Brumbaugh and Governor Willis as they passed at the rate of forty suffragists a minute.

"Where are they coming from?" asked Mr. James Ross, president of the Franklin County Democratic Club, through whose courtesy the deputation was permitted to file past the President. "Are you manufacturing suffragists in the Senate chamber, or are they flying in at the windows?" He had expected two hundred women. It was told afterwards that someone in authority sent a policeman to see whether the women were "repeating."

The deputation was arranged in three days over the telephone without the cost of a penny, by Mrs. Julius F. Stone, of the Advisory Council; Dr. Alice M. Johnston, secretary of the Ohio Branch of the Congressional Union, and Columbus suffragists.

The President shook hands with each woman and smiled at the mention of the amendment.

Among the women present at the deputation were Mrs. Julius F. Stone and Mrs. Harvey C. Garber, of the Advisory Committee; Dr. Alice M. Johnston, secretary; Mrs. William McPherson, Congressional District Chairman of the State Association; Mrs. Edward Orton, Jr., Mrs. A. B. McKeen, Mrs. Thomas and Edward Johnson, Mrs. E. M. Fullington, Mrs. C. C. Pavey, president of Federation of Woman's Cliubs; Mrs. John Chester, Mrs. L. C. Laylin, Mrs. George U. Marvin, Miss Katherine Huntington, and others.

Mrs. Harvey C. Garber sent a bouquet of white and yellow roses, tied with purple, to the President's room at the Chittenden Hotel, in the name of the Ohio Branch of the Congressional Union.

5,000 New Subscribers

Members Who Have Secured New Subscribers to "The Suffragist"

(In this column we list the subscriptions sent in each week by our members. These are only a part of the total number of new subscriptions.)

DECEMBER 5 THROUGH DECEMBER 11.

Miss Rachel S. Howland	3
Miss Lucy Burns	2
Mrs. W. T. Burch	9
Miss Mabel Vernon	3
Mrs. George F. Henry	2
Mrs. J. Gilbert Mearns	2
Mrs. Cyrus Mead	2
Mrs. Elizabeth P. Griest	1
Mrs. E. C. Thompson	1
Total	25
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	1,808
Total number of new subscribers secured by members through December 11	1,833

Deputation to Congressman Brumbaugh

CONGRESSMAN BRUMBAUGH met an informal deputation, Saturday afternoon, December 11, at four o'clock at Congressional Union headquarters, Columbus, Ohio. The representatives of the association merely wished to place before the Congressman arguments they thought he should consider before voting; and to urge him to vote "yes."

Congressman Brumbaugh, "because he considers the women of Ohio a part of his constituency," he said, remained in Columbus over Saturday in order that he might meet them and hear their arguments. By doing this, he said "the women and I will be better satisfied; and it will do away with a voluminous correspondence which would contain the arguments which I have heard from them here this afternoon.

"I was more than pleased to remain in Columbus to have an interview with the representatives of the Union, and I assure them the subject will have my most careful consideration before I cast my vote on this amendment," he said in departing.

Mrs. Julius F. Stone, of the National Advisory Council, led the discussion for the women. She spoke of the economic waste of the state method of securing the franchise. She showed Mr. Brumbaugh that the total suffrage vote in twenty-one states was 6,435,176, while the popular vote in forty-eight states for President Wilson in 1912 was only 6,293,175. She pointed out also that twenty-seven states are yet to be counted in the vote for woman suffrage.

Mrs. Myron S. Seibert attempted to remove from the mind of Mr. Brumbaugh the idea advanced by some opponents that the passing of the amendment would interfere with states' rights.

Other women who took part in the discussion were: Dr. Sara Fletcher, Mrs. C. B. Flagg, Mrs. Ivor Hughes, Dr. Alice Johnston, Mrs. A. B. McKeen, Mrs. John Karns, and Mrs. John Marvin.

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